[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
553 of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
[805] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.
[771] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[73 cont.]

*[778] [824] and go into the mountains to look for the tree. The tree must be a wild one, not one planted by human beings. It must not be taken from inhabited places or from the edge of a path. The wood should be superior, at least fir or cypress wood.

[783] Before the carpenter sets to work, he washes his hands and face and rinses out his mouth. Then he fumigates his head and hands. He proceeds in exactly the same fashion with his tools. First he indicates on the trunk the four points of the compass; then he fells it and smoothes the four sides corresponding to [74] these directions, which the tree must also retain in the chorten chamber. The tree may be only six ells long, no more and no less. The width is about ten centimeters.

The trunk is brought home and planed smooth in the compound where the lama is staying, while the lama prays and outside the incense offering is burned. Then the carpenter brings it into the house and lays it by the lama on the kang. The latter first gives a prayer over the trunk and then inscribes
● [242] Tibetan sayings on it in red. He usually uses red clay dissolved in water for this. The trunk thus inscribed is then wrapped with a yellow cloth and a number of threads is wound around it. The points of the compass are written on the cloth. Then the tree is put between the urns on the household altar and placed upright, propped against the wall. The little oil-lamps and seven water-bowls are renewed, and while a new incense offering is given in the yard, the lama sprinkles the trunk and gives the votive prayer over it (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 78.] The construction of this sky column is very similar to the making of the spirit-spear. -- The trunk need not always be smoothed. In the case of partially decayed bẽñkãñ one can see little trunks sticking out of the sasa-mountain with all their bark and without any further preparation, which allows an even more natural connection with the world-tree. It is

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

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They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763]
[273]
[178]
[171]
[212]

14.[Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

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[465]

The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon

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the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[649 cont.]

792 766 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes [212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

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23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192 764

Cremation: ġaldē awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin,) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin,) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndāñlaġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzān kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

[212] Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward.

[788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately

[821] returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer.

[823] Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 772

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212] ●

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense.

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[P.82(A)]